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Activities Committee, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee Social Department, Wu-Han Investigation Bureau, CCP Central Party Headquarters and Wu-Han Investigation Statistical Bureau. This is not a complete list. In addition there were ten-odd auxiliary organizations of the CCP such as the Peoples League, People's Revolution, etc.,

5. Other organizations also were exerting influence in the Communications offices and among the factory workers. Their responsibilities were:
 - a. Stir up the workers to organize factory protection committees to protect factories and oppose removal and prevent demolition.
 - b. Propagandize for CCP industrial and commercial policy, city policy, and industrial workers policy in order to eliminate the workers' fear of the CCP and to develop a Communist mentality.
 - c. Cleverly proclaim the military and political victories of the CCP and the impending downfall of the Kuomintang.
 - d. Strive to increase the political consciousness of the leaders in the labor unions.
 - e. Stir up labor troubles and disturb the peace.
 - f. Enroll members to expand the front organizations in preparation for the future reckoning, and fight against the present labor union leaders then in control.
6. Of the CCP activities the policy of protecting factories and preventing demolition was the most important, hence all types of CCP underground organizations made plans in order to secure future merit and secretly vied for results in their work, and they constantly come into conflict. The upper echelons all recognized control of this as a thorny problem. The Wu-Han Laborers' Association and the CCP Hankow City Party Headquarters industrial Workers' activities organization had with respect to the underground organization in Wu-Han, a detailed plan and arrangements. With regard to railways, telegraphs, postal affairs, merchant marine, electricity, textiles, iron and steel, and other such important items and production organs, organizational plans were all well under way and people with requisite abilities selected by the time of the take over.
7. The following is a list of CCP Underground leaders:
 - a. LIU Shih (劉 實) formerly called Lin (蘭), age 26, a native of Liaoning province. During the anti-Japanese war he was chief of the corps of workers activities. After the war he came to Wu-Han and organized the Laborers Association and the Wu-Han Underground city committee.
 - b. CHIANG Hao-te (江 浩德), age 32, a native of Kweichow. CCP underground committeeman for Wu-Han.
 - c. CHANG Chin-pao (張 金保), age 51, a native of Wuchang Hopeh. A workman in the No. 1 Textile Factory.

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- d. Yuan Tao-hua (袁道華), age 50, a native of Wuchang. A technician in the No. 1 Textile Factory.
 - e. PE'NG Yang-ch'in (彭仰欽), age 48, a native of Hupeh. A technician in the Hankow Hydroelectric plant.
 - f. HSIEN Shih-hung (謝世弘), age 29, native of Hsingling (醒陵) Assistant Engineer in the Hankow electric plant. Director of Hankow electrical workers' labor union. Member of Factory Protection Committee organization committee.
 - g. TU Yao-ch'ing (杜堯卿), age 56, native of Huang-an (113-36, 29-07). Carpenter on Canton-Hankow railway.
 - h. HU Peng-kuei (胡封奎), age 57, lathe operator at the P'ing-Han Railway Riverside Shop.
 - i. HUANG Chung-hsi (黃宗熙), age 26, native of Chekiang, telegraphic worker. Before and after the fall was a member of the organization committee of telegraphic workers' Union.
 - j. TENG Hsiang (鄧祥), age 26, native of Kiangsu, worker in the 30th arsenal.
 - k. WANG Wei-chang (王維章), age 36, native of Szechwan, engineer.
 - l. CHANG Ching (張靜), woman, age 33, native of Hankow, leader of factory women in a Wuchang textile factory.
 - m. YU Pen-fu (余本福), age 40. Worker in a Wuchang textile factory. Director of labor union and leader of youth corps.
 - n. WU Yung-fu (吳永福), age 36, native of Chia-yu (杞魚). Arsenal workers.
 - o. YUAN Ming-hua (袁明華), age 26, native of Hupeh, a sailor.
 - p. LEI I-liang (雷奕樞).
 - q. LIANG Shao-tung (梁紹德), age 45, native of Han-ch'uan (漢川), postal worker.
 - r. MA Hsing-chang (馬鴻章), age 41, native of Hupeh.
 - s. HO Huan-wei (賀煥楣), age 24, Director of postal workers' Union.
 - t. HSIAO Wan-ch'ing (蕭婉清), age 26, native of Hupeh. Woman postal worker.
 - u. YU Wan-chin (于萬金), age 36, native of Hanyang, mail carrier.
8. CCP workers were shrewdly aware that they had to make use of the existing labor unions in Nationalist territory to lead the "protect the factories" movement, in order for it to be effective. Their methods were:
- a. Investigate the relationships of the officers of the important labor unions for use when liaison is needed.

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- b. Address directly by letter the needed liaison personnel--the letter containing the following.
- 1) "Do not worry about your political position under the Nationalists.
 - 2) If you get close to the people, and join the revolutionary front, your future will be bright.
 - 3) Your arousing the workers to protect the factories will be positive evidence of your desire to join the revolutionary front. We wait here to join hands with you."
9. On the one hand the Communists planned to use existing union officials before the take over to arouse the masses to protect the factories. On the other hand they organized opposition groups against the leaders in important unions, in order afterwards to have charges to bring against the leaders, as material for attacking and liquidating them. In this way the original unions were brought under complete Communist control.
 10. Sometimes the Communists used an opposition group to overthrow the faction in power. And then as the opposition grew in strength, they used another opposition group against it, and thus kept the party in complete control.
 11. Leaders of transport and factory unions in the railways, telegraph, seamen, postal workers, textile workers, machinists, glass-workers, and dock-workers unions received many letters from the CCP underground signed with different names. In the case of the more important leaders, the letters came falsely in the name of MAO Tse-tung, or LIU Po-ch'eng, or LIN Piao. Or else in the name of a good friend who had joined the CCP. For example, the head of the Ping Han Railway Union, received a telegram from MAO Tse-tung telling him to protect the line. The head of the Seamen's Union received a letter from a Communist friend telling him to protect the steamers. Another labor leader received a letter from CHU Hsueh-fan telling him to work hard for the people's front. The Wu-han chief of police received a letter from CHANG Ch'ung, his Communist friend, telling him to switch over. These letters all had false signatures. They were all put out by the Wu-han Communist underground who cared more about the objective than the means used to attain it. Even though such letters appeared far too numerous to be authentic many persons who were unaware of the real facts were fooled.
 12. When the Wu-Han area was captured, not only did the Nationalist not destroy factory equipment, but provided a police and home guard with guns, to maintain order during the interregnum. This is remembered by the populace to this day.

Methods of Control

13. On 24 May a placard on red paper appeared on the doorway of the premises of the former Communications Daily bearing the words Central Plains General Labor Union. The Communist-controlled labor union was a government organ and not a free labor group. So the chief of the Central Plains General Labor Union CHAO Win (趙敏), was an officer of the Communist

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Central Government with great authority. That evening he called a meeting of the Wu-Han Communist underground. The other leaders present were TS'AI Shu-pin (蔡樹彬), CHANG P'ing-hua (張平化), CHANG Chin-pao (張金保), LIU Shih (劉實), CHIANG Hao-jan (江浩然), LU Hsiu-shan (陸秀山), P'ENG Yang-ch'in (彭揚鎮), CHU K'ang-hou (朱康侯). CHAO Min using a Chinese Communist labor movement manuscript, said in substance:

Comrades: before the liberation of Wu-Han you did a great job of protecting the plants, facilitating the take-over more than at any other place. Now our new union has three objectives: to lead learning, lead production, lead support to the front. The first is the most urgent, for the other two stem out of it. A study of our success and the Kuomintang defeat shows many causes, the chief being the difference in relative emphasis on front and rear. We stress the former, the Kuomintang the latter. We must reward our underground workers. They stirred up demands for better conditions, and the students made demands for allowances; both had good results. The Kuomintang lost out because they were not able to dominate the labor and students movements. We must utilize their factionalism to gain control of their labor movement. This civil inflation affected workers' livelihood, and the factories could hardly continue. This was a useful weapon in our hands against the bureaucratic capital of the four big families.

But now Wu-Han is orderly and Communist authority is established. Our party's labor men have the task of starting a new labor movement, namely how to reconstruct the purely economic character of the Kuomintang labor movement into one (for bettering conditions for the worker). A labor union is a school for furthering Communism, that is, an educational labor movement. It must divide laborers into small units which can learn the importance of aiding the front and increasing production, and by emulation in production, stimulate the workers to spontaneous lengthening of work periods and spontaneous demands for lowering of living standards. Only as treatment of a laborer is not better than that of a soldier does our labor movement succeed.

But having destroyed the Kuomintang labor movement, how can we all at once fully reconstruct it? Besides guiding increased study, we must take strong precautions against enemy agents:

- 1) Expel from factories those who do not actively study;
- 2) Count agitators as Kuomintang agents and turn them over to inspection squads for arrest.

Especially must we destroy the leadership strength of the officers of the labor unions which existed under Kuomintang rule.

14. This speech was duplicated and distributed to all Communist Party members who were leaders in the labor movement, as a golden treasure of laws. The Communists use clever words which at once evidence their cleverness and their shamelessness. For instance, their "carry through the revolution to the end" forces the people to be in slavish dependence on the Soviet

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Union; their "study" means forcing the people to imprison themselves in cocoons of their own making; their "four big families" are plots to sow discord among the Kuomintang by creating targets for revolution; their "people's democratic dictatorship" is a casting of a curtain of democracy over absolute autocracy.

15. Workers for the Central Plains General Labor Union number more than 400; 40 plus in the Wuchang textile mills, 37 in those of Hankow, 70 plus at the Hankow docks, 80 plus in the P'ing-han Railway, 120 plus on the Yueh-han, 27 in the post office, 28 in the telegraph office, 30 plus in the China Merchant's Steam Navigation Company, 20 plus in the Hupeh Machine Works, 35 in the arsenal, 10 plus in the chemical works, 20 plus in the highway department. These men follow instructions to attack and liquidate, to oppress and exploit laborers.
16. In the Wu-Han take-over, all public activities were seized by a host of functionaries. For instance, in the seizure of the post office some 300 men were used, each man supervising about three of the 1,000 employees. These men swarmed over all the places of business in the city, working with and taking orders from the said General Labor Union so the officials and laborers in any concern taken over were under the strictest surveillance. Regimentation of laborers is carried on using three methods: 1) enforced organization for study; 2) cadre training classes; 3) mass assemblies.
17. In a confidential conference between the Communist authorities and the labor unions, members of labor organizations were formed into cells of 15 to 20 each. Each cell had a cell leader. A Communist liaison or an activities officer joined the cell. Every day the training cells had a two or three hour session in the mornings. During the first week the liaison officer led in the discussion. Many of the union officers were ignorant of the most common knowledge. Some did not know how to use the telephone or such other such simple equipment. This type of cadre from the villages came to govern the cities.
18. All members were requested to submit a complete biography of themselves. This was done in order to lay bare ones misdeeds. Officers wanted an opportunity to criticize the mistakes of an individual. A meeting for these purposes was called "public struggle." One was not to let sentiment enter into these discussions. Ones brothers, friends or relatives must look upon ones misdeeds objectively. This is done in order to indicate that there must be positive progress. These individuals were then investigated. On the basis of the various methods used to secure information on an individual, approximately 60 to 80 percent were found guilty of some misdeed. The method of "public struggle" was also used to determine an individual's penalty.
19. Those whose misdeeds were not grave were expelled and the others were reprimanded or imprisoned. Some disappeared. The following individuals, whose misdeeds were considered very grave, disappeared or were imprisoned: LIU Sung-shan (劉松山), director of, and HSIAO Han-t'ing (蕭漢庭), member of the standing committee of the P'ing-Han Railroad Labor Union; LI Yu-t'ien (李雨田), director of the Maritime Labor Union; CHANG Hua-shan (張華山), director of the Textile Labor Union; CHAO Shih-pin (趙世斌), director of the Rickshaw Labor Union; and HU Ting-shan (胡定山), director of the Docks and Yards Labor Union. The following

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men were admonished: KUO Hai-fu (郭海福), standing director of the Kickshaw Labor Union; HU Fa-yun (胡發雲), director of the Fertilizer Industry Labor Union, and LI Ta-chu (李火柱), director of the Tea Industry Labor Union.

20. Everything the labor union workers did was autocratic and yet they loudly praised democracy. When they wanted to lengthen work hours and cut down on remunerations, the changes were not to be the results of commands which came from higher levels, but to be the results of the slogan "You (the workers) are the master." This slogan forced the workers to ask for less pay and longer hours.
21. It was to be understood that what the Communist Party expounds was infallible. If you criticized anything Communistic as being incorrect, it was proof that you did not have enough training. If you made a criticism today, tomorrow there would be continued discussion. If tomorrow you still have criticism, there would be another discussion the day after tomorrow.
22. When you criticized, you went against the best interests of the workers, and at the same time you were criticized as being unprogressive. "Progressive" was another word which appealed to the ear. To be called "a progressive" by the Communist Party was to be more greatly honored than being decorated. It was noted that those who were not progressive were considered reactionary. To be a reactionary was to be an enemy of the Communist Party. Theory and practice should be one. Theory is not considered more important than practice. When the Communist party classifies you as a small capitalist then you are one.
23. Even if no salary was received for as much as two months, no one ventured to question the reason. For example, workers of the telegraph agencies, customs, railway, steamship company, provincial governments, various banks, etc. did not receive their salaries for two months at one time. They were not only afraid to inquire about the matter, but they lengthened their work hours. Added to all this, they were forced during their leisure time to go out on the streets to do propaganda work on the topic of austerity, enduring suffering, and praising the Communist Party.

Resistance of Workers

24. On the other hand during a conference of the Hankow Post Office delivery men's cell, a number of postmen said they were unwilling to accept the practice of stripping the workers of their privileges. They held fast to their rights as based on the theory of work and salary as propagandized by the Communist Party. A number of Communist leaders were sent to reason with them, but all this was of no avail. Finally, it was decided that the Post Office take-over section and the activities group of the Union hold a joint conference to study the problem. It was recognized that the mail carriers were of the former Postal Affairs Labor Union. It was determined that the obstinate attitude taken by the workers was instigated by this Union. Therefore, the new topic of the former labor union versus the new labor union was brought out for the discussion by the entire group.
25. By that time, the various important unions, representing the various industries in the Wu-Han area, had been liquidated except for the Hankow Postal Affairs Labor Union. The officials of the Union had the audacity to lead people against the CCP. The Communists set out to smash this

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organization. A few days before the discussion of the new and old Unions, all liaison officers and activities officers were mobilized to propagandize that the director of the old Union, CHANG En-nien (張恩年), was a special agent. The proof was found in the accounts of the Union, that there had been reactionary activities during the previous two years.

26. On the one hand LIU Ching-shih (劉京士) was promoted to the position of Deputy Chief of the Farm and Labor Section and WANG Kuan-sheng (王官聲) selected for a position in the old Union. On the other hand CHANG Hsin-fu (張幸夫) was discharged and considered an enemy agent. Therefore from these facts, it may be seen that those who did not oppose the old Union were considered enemy agents. All were intimidated.
27. After the plans were settled, a number of the more experienced cadres attended the conference. When the meeting started, the liaison officers asked the audience what criticism they had of the former Union. A postman, HU Chi-chun (胡其均) stated at the conference: "When the 18 September 1931 Incident occurred, not wishing to become a servant of the Japanese, I came down to Shanhaikuan to work as a postman. I became an inconspicuous member of the labor organization. To date, I feel that the former Union has treated me very well. The Communists have occupied Wu-Han for over one month and we have not as yet received our salary. I have not seen where the Communists have lifted a finger for our benefit. The former Union was able to get our wages for us on time, and if our wages were late even for a day we went on strike. Today I am requested to make statements against the former labor Union. You might as well label me an enemy agent."
28. Before the above statement was completed, a laborer, YANG Ta-fu (楊達夫), made the following statement: "When I lift up the cover of my rice urn, I am reminded of our labor union and its director. The day before the Wu-Han area was 'liberated', he was able to obtain for us three shih of grain. At present, you, the Communists, have not paid us our wages for over one month. If it were not for these three shih of grain we would have died of hunger. I do not know what is good and what is bad. I only know that if we have food to eat, that is good."
29. YANG wanted to continue to speak but HU Chi-chun (胡其均), interrupted angrily to state: "You, the Communists, say that now, we, the laborers are liberated, the laborers have become the masters of the nation. Actually, since when have we been liberated? You, of the Communist Party, have truly been liberated. When you first came here, you had one course meals but now you have four courses. Previously we had four course meals but now we don't even have one course to eat, nor do we have rice water to drink. How can we be liberated and how can we be the master. Indirectly, we have been deceived into death."
30. Officers immediately placed the speakers under arrest. The postal workers in the audience saw that the situation was out of control. They held fast to the liaison officers and they wept bitterly. At the same time some said, "We have been starving for the past few days. Some of us have exchanged our children's clothing for a few catties of rice. Some have taken the boards from the beds to burn as fuel. In fact, we are not able to endure any more." Then the entire group of liaison officers left the assembly. After a few days, those who spoke up were reprimanded. They were discharged from their postal positions and deprived of their livelihood.

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Labor Union Political Workers

31. On the one hand the Communist Party used the method of coercion to force the laborers to be absolutely obedient to their ways. On the other hand, the opposition was lured into joining union political workers training classes in order to destroy the power of the old factions. The students of the political workers training classes were selected from the various cells after close observation by various liaison officers. Besides the teaching of theories on democratic exactions and democratic monopoly there were courses in the social sciences.
32. Within the post office was established a postal labor political workers training class by the Central Plains Labor Union Headquarters. Considering their intelligence it was pathetic how little general knowledge these men had. It was difficult to teach sociology.

Reorganization of Unions

33. Labor unions do not permit non-Communist Party members to join, therefore the Central Plains Workers General Labor Union formed the Wu-Han Municipal General Labor Union Planning Committee. The General Labor Union of Wu-Han had over 200 unions but the Planning Committee cut the number to about thirty. The Unions which joined the Wu-Han Municipal Labor Union are the Highway, Railway, Postal, Electrical, Textile, Machinery, Chemical, Docks, Apparatus, Tobacco Factories, Hydro-electric and other units. The total number of members was not over 30,000 but under the old regime the number was 130,000.
34. On the day the post office workers were to select their delegates, two Communist members, SHEN Hsin-ho (申修和) and SUN Wen-ying (孙文英), said among other things: "We have selected nine delegates for you. We hope that you will approve them in order not to waste too much time and to avoid useless negotiations."
35. Wu-Han business is quite dead. A rickshaw man earns barely enough to buy a liter of rice. Most of the places serving food have discontinued operations because of lack of business or have reorganized to do some other business.

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